

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2813

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NODIS CHEROKEE

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, RH  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S REACTION TO PRIME MINISTER  
SMITH'S SEPTEMBER 24 SPEECH

REF: A) STATE 238081, B) STATE 238063

1. SUMMARY. NYERERE SUMS UP HIS REACTION TO SMITH'S SPEECH IN ONE WORD: "WORRIED." HIS CONCERN CENTERS ON SMITH'S APPARENT INTENTION TO CALL THE TUNE ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS AND NYERERE IS NOT SURE AFRICANS CAN AGREE TO THINGS HE WILL WANT. NYERERE URGES THAT CALLAGHAN OR CROSSLAND NOW PICK UP AND PRESERVE MOMENTUM BY PROCEEDING WITH CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT NYERERE GAVE HIS REACTION TO SMITH SPEECH MORNING SEPTEMBER 25 TO ME AND BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER BROWN. THEME WAS THAT HE WAS "WORRIED." FIRST ABOUT PROCEDURES. HE WAS PREPARED TRUST BRITISH TO WORK THESE OUT IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE BUT SMITH NOW SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN OVER HIMSELF ON THIS. SECOND, THE DETAILS WORRY NYERERE. SMITH HAS LAID THEM ALL DOWN (AND AT LEAST IMPLIED THAT UT US AND UK AGREE). HE HAS DEFINED THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ORGANS, SET FORTH THEIR FUNCTIONS, ESTABLISHED THE VOTING PROCEDURE, AND DETERMINED WHO IS GOING TO DO WHAT (E.G., WHITE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND OF LAW AND ORDER).

3. IF YOU PUT ALL THIS TOGETHER, SAID NYERERE, THERE IS AT LEAST  
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A POSSIBILITY IT WILL NOT WORK. WHO IS GOING TO CALL OFF THE

GUERRILLA FIGHTING? WHO ACCEPTED OR WILL ACCEPT SMITH'S ARRANGEMENT ON PART OF THE AFRICANS? NYERERE IS NOT QUITE CLEAR WHETHER HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE DONE SO, BUT, IF HE WERE A GUERRILLA FIGHTER, HE IS NOT SURE HE WOULD.

4. NYERERE REALIZES NKOMO AND OTHERS CAN RAISE QUESTIONS OF KIND HE HAS PUT ABOVE, BUT PROBLEM IS WHERE? UNDER WHAT ARRANGEMENTS? WHAT BOTHERS HIM MOST IS THAT HE THOUGHT SMITH WAS GOING OUT. NOW SMITH IS PART OF NEW ORDER. THE HANDOVER TO MAJORITY RULE SEEMS TO BE A HANDOVER TO SMITH. IT IS SMITH WHO IS NOW GOING TO CALL IN AFRICANS AND PROCEED. AND THIS HAS TO BE DONE IN RHODESIA. NYERERE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED LAST POINT WITH SECRETARY. WHEN NYERERE HAD SAID AFRICANS COULDN'T ACCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN SALISBURY, SECRETARY HAD SAID SMITH WOULDN'T ACCEPT LONDON. ALL RIGHT, SAID NYERERE, LET'S DO THIS ONE IN GENEVA. SMITH'S VERY FIRM STATEMENT "BY RHODESIANS, IN RHODESIA" WORRIED NYERERE GREATLY.

5. TURNING TO HIGH COMMISSIONER BROWN, NYERERE SAID HE HAD ANOTHER MAJOR WORRY. CALLAGHAN HAD LAID DOWN CONDITIONS, TWO YEARS, ETC. NOW HE WAS ADDING ANOTHER CONDITION: HE WILL NOT CALL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE UNTIL AFTER INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS FORMED. WHAT WOULD BE LEFT FOR IT TO DO AFTER SMITH AND AFRICANS HAD SET THINGS UP IN SALISBURY? CALLAGHAN OR CROSSLAND MUST NOW TAKE OVER FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER AND MOVE AT ONCE TO KEEP MOMENTUM GOING.

6. UNDER SMITH'S ARRANGEMENT, NYERERE COULD SEE MANY POSSIBILITIES FOR BREAKDOWN. FOR ALL HE KNEW, ZIMBABWEANS MIGHT INDEED ACCEPT IT, BUT WE SHOULD CONSIDER SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THEY WOULD FACE. SUPPOSE YOU HAD NOT ONLY A BLACK PRIME MINISTER BUT EVEN A BLACK MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND OF LAW AND ORDER; THEY WOULD HAVE TWO ARMIES, SMITH'S AND THEIR OWN. CONFRONTATION WOULD BE A REAL DANGER. AND SMITH SAYS ALL HE PROPOSES IS CONTINGENT ON THE ENDING OF SANCTIONS AND OF GUERRILLA FIGHTING. THE AFRICANS WILL AGREE TO THIS ONLY WHEN A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION IS FOUND AND NYERERE IS FAR FROM SURE SMITH'S SOLUTION IS A SATISFACTORY ONE FOR THE REASONS HE HAS OUTLINED ABOVE. HE WILL NOW DISCUSS SITUATION WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA BUT HE DOESN'T THINK HIS VIEWS WILL CHANGE VERY MUCH.

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7. UK HIGH COMMISSIONER LEFT TO RECEIVE MESSAGE FOR NYERERE FROM LONDON WHICH WAS COMING IN TO HIS EMBASSY. I PRESENTED PRESIDENT FORD'S STATEMENT AND LETTER (REFTELS). NYERERE READ PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER CAREFULLY AND SAID HE MUCH WELCOMED IT. HE WOULD REPLY AS SOON AS HE COULD BUT WISHED ME TO CONVEY ABOVE REACTION TO SECRETARY ASAP. I SAID I WOULD REPORT HIS PROBLEMS AND WORRIES IMMEDIATELY BUT CERTAINLY THOUGHT THERE WAS ALSO

REASON FOR SATISFACTION AND HOPE. NYERERE SAID THAT WHAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN WAS NOT LOSING THE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS WE HAD MADE BY LETTING SMITH GRAB THE LEAD FROM HERE ON.

8. COMMENT: NYERERE HAD MOST OF HIS POINTS OUTLINED IN NOTES IN ADVANCE. HE WAS IN GOOD HUMOR BUT CLEARLY WANTED TO LEAVE IMPRESSION WITH ME THAT THINGS HAD TAKEN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT TURN THAT HE HAD ANTICIPATED AND WITH BROWN THAT BRITISH HAD DONE LESS THAN HE EXPECTED. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS BY NATURE "A WORRIER" AND CAREFULLY DID NOT REJECT THE SMITH PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND. INDEED, ON TWO OCCASIONS, HE SAID ZIMBABWEANS MIGHT EVEN ACCEPT IT. BUT, AS USUAL, HE IS LOOKING FOR MORE. MOST OF HIS "WORRIES" TURN ON SMITH'S REMAINING IN POWER AND CORE OF HIS OBJECTIONS, I THINK, LIES JUST THERE.

9. IN ORONIC JUXTAPOSITION OF USUAL TANZANIAN POSTURES (I.E., PRIVATELY POSITIVE, PUBLICLY NEGATIVE, NORMALLY ABUSIVE DAILY NEWS THIS MORNING RAN BANNER HEADLINE, "SMITH SURRENDERS". STORY, WHILE NON-COMMITTAL SUBSTANTIVELY, HAD GENERALLY UPBEAT NOTE. NYERERE'S CONVERSATION DID NOT.  
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